A

SHORT REVIEW

OF THE

POLITICAL STATE

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN,

AT THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE YEAR 1787.

—" *Nec Amore quisquam, et sine Odio dicendus est.*"——

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AN intelligent and reflecting mind, accuſtomed to ſpeculate upon human events, to regard their cauſes, their progreſſion, and their effects, and to form its general opinions from an expanded ſurvey of the whole; ſuch a mind will naturally ſtop at particular æras in the hiſtory of nations, and aſſem-

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ble their ſcattered rays into one concentered point of view. The political ſituation of this country, at the preſent juncture, may, perhaps, be regarded as forming one of thoſe epochas; and may merit conſideration, as detached from the general maſs of time and matter, which conſtitute and compoſe what we denominate hiſtory. My object, in writing the following ſheets, is principally to preſent a picture of the actual and exiſting moment, without either taking any ample retroſpect of paſt tranſactions, or extending my conjectures far into an unaſcertained and imaginary futurity. It is certainly curious, and it may be uſeful, to conſider the relative and reſpective poſitions of the King and the People, of the Governors and the Governed, of the Miniſtry and of the Oppoſition, at the opening of a new year, before the incumbent preſſure of ſucceeding events has diverted

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our attention to other ſcenes and objects. I ſhall confine my ſurvey to a few of the great component features, and ſhall begin, where, upon every principle, it is natural firſt to turn our eyes, with the conſideration of the Sovereign.

It has fallen to the lot of few Princes, of whom hiſtory has preſerved any authentic record, to enjoy ſo conſiderable a portion of the perſonal attachment, reſpect, and adherence of their ſubjects, after the unprecedented diſgraces and calamities of his reign, as George the Third appears to poſſeſs at the preſent moment. The loſs of thirteen colonies, of both the Floridas, of part of our Weſt India Iſlands, and of Minorca—The ſurrender of whole armies —the ignominious flight of Engliſh fleets before thoſe of France and Spain—the expenditure of a hundred and thirty millions

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of pounds—the abyſs of ruin into which a long train of unfortunate councils has plunged the empire—the accumulation of taxes, under which every order of the community is oppreſſed and overwhelmed—and the degree of political inſignificance, into which a country is fallen, who once deſpenſed her largeſſes and her ſubſidies to half the Princes of Europe.——Theſe misfortunes, multiplied, and almoſt unparallelled as they are, yet have not deprived his Majeſty of the affections of his people. His popularity, which, during the firſt years of his reign, and in all the ſunſhine of youth, and internal proſperity, and external ſucceſs, could not ſuſtain itſelf againſt an obſcure periodical paper, written by a private gentleman; has yet, to the admiration of mankind, ſurvived this mighty wreck, and even renewed itſelf amidſt the convulſions and decadence of the Britiſh empire.

empire. Many circumſtances, curious to inveſtigate, have conduced and combined to this extraordinary event. Had George the Third, like Charles the Second, or William the Third, remained childleſs on the throne; and had her Majeſty, like Catherine, or Mary, been only the partner of a barren bed; it is to be apprehended, that, during the rage of faction, and the diſgraces of a civil and a foreign war, with which England was ſhaken for ſo many years, the diadem rudely aſſailed, might perhaps have been torn from the royal brow. At that awful and memorable aera, when, in June 1780, London blazed through all her ſtreets, when, in the ſublime language of Tacitus, "Urbs, incendiis "vaſtata, conſumptis antiquiſſimis delubris, "ipſo capitolio civium manibus incenſo— "Odio et terrore corrupti in dominos ſervi, "in patronos, liberti."—When the em-

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pire, convulſed and agonizing, ſeemed to await her final doom from the parricide hands of her own children, the monarch might have been involved in the general ruin. But the numerous family of the Sovereign; his private virtues, and domeſtic character, drew a veil, even in the opinion of his enemies, acroſs the errors of his Government and Adminiſtration. The father, and the huſband, protected and ſheltered the Prince; born in happier times, and in a milder age, than his unhappy predeceſſor, Charles the Firſt, whom ſimilar virtues and qualities could not ſecure from the ſcaffold and the block! To this primary and fundamental baſis of his popularity, are added ſeveral inferior and neceſſary ſupports. The character, and the conduct of his eldeſt ſon, the Prince of Wales; to the firſt of which the nation does not look with ſanguine hope,

or exultation ; and to the latter of which, it has expreſſed its marked diſapprobation in many inſtances, have unqueſtionably conduced to intereſt the Engliſh people in favour of their Sovereign.

The formation and exiſtence of that political monſter, " The Coalition," at whoſe fatal birth were offered up as victims every appearance of public virtue or principle, and whoſe wild career ſoon plunged its authors into ruin, may likewiſe be regarded as another auxiliary ſupport to the perſonal popularity of the Monarch. The recollection of that vigorous, but injudicious and arbitrary meaſure, which cloſed the ſhort reign of " The Coalition," has operated, and will yet long continue to operate on the minds of every claſs of men ; from thoſe who ſurround the throne, to thoſe who are moſt remote from its

influence or its benefits. The rapacious invaſion and ſeizure of private property, ſo repugnant to the genius of the Engliſh government, and which formed the leading feature of that projected act of ſtate, ſpread a terror through the iſland, which three years have not yet obliterated; and which all the efforts of genius, employed in its defence, have never yet been able to juſtify, or reconcile to the far greater part of the nation.

An adventitious and recent event, deriving its principal force and effect, rather from its name, than its actual exiſtence; yet, by alarming the minds of every claſs of people for the ſafety of the Sovereign, has added new ſolidity to his throne, and diffuſed an unexampled popularity around his perſon. I need not ſay that I allude to the attempt, if, indeed, that which rather

ther exiſted in intention, than in act, can be properly denominated an attempt upon the life of his Majeſty. No circumſtances of fanaticiſm, rebellion, or attrocity, accompanied this act, or gave it birth. It neither reſembled the attempts made againſt Eliſabeth, or againſt William the Third. Inſanity alone armed the hand of a wretched female maniac, who was diſarmed and ſeized with the utmoſt facility, as ſoon as her deſign began to manifeſt itſelf. The nation did not, however, meaſure its exultation, or mark its general joy, by any exact proportion to the actual danger from which their Sovereign had eſcaped. Henry the Fourth, who was born for the delight of the human race, had he eſcaped from the dagger of Ravaillac, could not have received more univerſal, more flattering, or more cordial teſtimonies of the attachment of his people,

people, than were laid at the feet of George the Third in eager profuſion.—— Addreſſes are not, indeed, always to be regarded as the indiſputable teſts of the real ſentiments or adherence of the Engliſh people; nor have any of our moſt beloved Princes received more numerous, or more adulatory ones, than did James the Second and Richard Cromwell. But, in this inſtance, the general joy naturally ariſing in every loyal breaſt, from the danger with which their Sovereign had been menaced, was perhaps augmented in its effect, by an obvious and unavoidable reflection on the character of the Prince, who muſt have ſucceeded to the vacant throne.

This conſideration obliterated at once the recollection of the faded glories of the Engliſh name; the remembrance of that unhappy

unhappy war, which emancipated America, reſtored the proſtrate genius of France, and rendered back to Spain the proudeſt trophies of more triumphant reigns. All theſe calamities were buried in the ſentiments and expreſſions of exultation and pleaſure, reſulting from the recent eſcape of the King from the knife of an aſſaſſin.

To ſo extraordinary and improbable a point of popularity has George the Third been elevated by a combination of circumſtances, after a reign of ſix and twenty years; the firſt portion of which contains no event worthy the commemoration of hiſtory, except a peace, unqueſtionably inferior to the juſt expectations of a victorious nation: But, the latter part of which ſaw the altar of victory thrown down, and the Imperial Eagle, which had

ſoared

ſoared ſo high, trampled in the duſt, inſulted, and expiring! A reign, already longer in its duration, than any, except that of George the Second, ſince the death of Eliſabeth, has rendered the character of the King intimately known to every order of his ſubjects; and, although hiſtory will not rank him among thoſe few choſen and immortal ſpirits, raiſed up by Providence in her bounty, for the felicity and admiration of mankind; yet will ſhe, when faction and party are extinct, conſign him no mean or unworthy place in the temple of departed monarchs. If he ſhall not be placed with Trajan, and Antoninus, and Aurelius, yet ſhall he "ſoar above the limits of a vulgar fate." He has not, like Lewis the Fourteenth, waſted the blood of his people in oſtentatious and wanton invaſions of the dominions of princes allied to him by deſcent, or connected with

with him by treaties. His wars, however inglorious, or deſtructive in their progreſs, originated in principles, which even rebellion muſt reſpect, although ſhe may oppoſe. Fortitude, equanimity, lenity, benignity; all the virtues which adorn the humble walks of private life, are to be traced in the palace of George the Third, and have accompanied him through every period of his reign. If he has not rivalled the Medecis in the protection of the arts, and of ſcience, he has at leaſt extended to them a degree of patronage and of attention, which has neither been characteriſtic of, nor hereditary in the Houſe of Hanover, ſince their acceſſion to the throne of England. His continence, the decorum of his manners, and his conjugal virtues, have, even in an age like this, produced an effect proportionate to their intrinſic merit; and have held him up to the public eye in

a point of view, to which no heart of feeling, or mind of reflection, can ever be inſenſible. Adorned with theſe amiable qualities, and aided by the concomitance of circumſtances which I have endeavoured faithfully to delineate, we ſhall not perhaps wonder at the advantageous poſition in which his Majeſty appears to his people, and to all Europe, at the cloſe of 1786.

A ſpeculative mind, habituated to range with freedom, and to meditate without reſtraint on the events of life, will perhaps find as ample ſubject for admiration and aſtoniſhment, in the preſent unpopularity of the Heir to the Monarchy, as it may have done in the popularity of the Sovereign himſelf. A Prince of Wales is placed, by nature and by fortune, on ſo high and ſo favoured an eminence above man-

mankind—All his actions, and his very exceſſes, are beheld thro' ſo deceptive, or ſo favourable a medium. He is environ'd by ſuch a ſplendor, reſulting from youth, and royal dignity, and expectation of future virtues, that it requires no ſmall deviation from all that can excite attachment, or lay claim to eſteem, in order to diveſt himſelf, if not of the approbation, at leaſt of the perſonal adherence of the far greater part of thoſe, over whom he is one day, probably, deſtined to reign. The errors of the father only illuminate and endear the ſon, who, as not being implicated in the diſgraces, or involved in the miſconduct of government, is ever by the multitude regarded as the ſure pledge of future times of tranquillity and happineſs.

Decorated, as the Prince of Wales peculiarly is, with the graces of perſonal ele-

gance, improv'd by education, cultivated by letters, enlarg'd by an acquaintance with men, not often attained by perſons ſo far removed from the walks of private and common life. Endowed even with powers of pleaſing, and capacities of a convivial and a ſocial kind, not inferior to thoſe ſo much admired in Charles the Second. Affable even to familiarity, addicted to the enjoyments of the table, and certainly not inſenſible to the charms of beauty, and the ſeductions which accompany it.—How, may it be aſked, can a youth, to whom Nature has been thus liberal, and on whom every eye is naturally turned with predilection and partiality, have contrived, before he has yet fully attained to manhood, to ſhake the affections, and to diminiſh, if not forfeit the reſpect, almoſt inſeparable from his perſon and his dignity? It is an invidious, but it may be

to future times, a uſeful taſk, to explain *how* a Prince of Wales *may* degrade himſelf in the eyes of a diſcerning, a candid, but an impartial people.

He may lay the foundation of this melancholy proof of his power, by a departure from that ſacred and primeval law, written by the finger of Nature deep in the human heart, of filial piety and obedience; a duty as inviolable, and as much exacted from the Prince to the Sovereign, as from the laſt and loweſt ſubject to his parent; a virtue, ever found to exiſt with moſt force and energy in thoſe boſoms where Nature has implanted all the moſt benign and kindly affections!—He may accompliſh it, by forming his neareſt connections of familiarity and intimacy, not from among the youth who naturally ſurround the ſucceſſor to the Throne; but from the moſt

moſt obſcure and unprincipled individuals with which a capital, ſuch as this is, muſt of neceſſity teem. He may give the final wound to his popularity, and to the fond partiality of a great people, by forming a *connection* of ſo ambiguous, ſo enigmatical, and ſo undefined a nature, that mankind, with anxious, but fearful eyes, ſhall tremble to explore what they deſire to aſcertain: And if this extraordinary and nameleſs *Union* ſhould be formed with a perſon of a religious perſuaſion different from that of the country in which ſo ſtrange a ſcene is acted, it is only to contempt and ridicule that he can fly, to avoid general diſapprobation and reſentment. Theſe, and I had almoſt ſaid, *only* theſe, are the means by which a Prince of Wales can deſcend from the proud eminence on which he is placed; by which he can compel a reluctant people to deprecate

cate his reign, and to anticipate with terror that event, to which they are uſually too prone to look with warm and pleaſing expectation.

I ſhall be told, perhaps, that Henry the Fifth, ſo dear to every lover of Glory, or of his Country, emerged from a ſimilar cloud, which ſhaded and obſcured him, before he aſcended the Throne of England. But, where is the pretended ſimilarity between the Conqueror of Agincourt, and the ſon of George the Third? Can the exceſſes of intemperance, or levity, probably exaggerated to us by that magic pen which Shakeſpeare held, or however accurately true they may even be ſuppoſed, form any real reſemblance between the two Princes? It is like the ſimilarity which Burnet has ingeniouſly diſcovered between Charles the Second

cond and Tiberius, *only* conſiſting in their common attachment to the pleaſures of women.—May that reſemblance, ſo dear and ſo precious, be diſcovered in future years; and may the reign of George the Fourth, if it ever ſhall take place, equal in luſtre, but exceed in duration, that of Henry the Fifth! It is not yet too late to regain the eſteem, and recover the affections of a generous people, ever prone to pity and to pardon the errors, which do not proceed from depravity of heart, or defect of principle. Time will inſenſibly draw a veil acroſs his paſt irregularities, and conſign them to perpetual oblivion. Let him expreſs towards his Father and his Sovereign, a decent, and a filial reverence, however he may retain his private opinion on matters of policy! Let him prove to a nation, deſerving of his confidence, and anxious to find him worthy their's, that he is incapable

pable of entering into any engagement, from the poſſible eventual conſequences of which, their happineſs or tranquillity may ever be endangered! Let him riſe above the little policy, to which former Princes of Wales may, in other times, (and when from peculiarity of circumſtances ſuch a policy might perhaps be venial,) have condeſcended;—that of dividing the court and the country, and eſtabliſhing the rival factions of the father and the ſon! Then ſhall he be indeed the idol of an admiring people; and imagination ſhall fondly ſee revive in the eighteenth century, on a Brunſwic brow, the unfading laurels with which the temples of Plantagenet are for ever adorned!

Among the political phaenomena of the preſent century, and certainly as the moſt prominent feature which characteriſes the cloſe of the year 1786, may be conſidered the

the poſſeſſion of the firſt executive office in this complicated government, quietly retained by a youth, who has already held the ſituation above three years.—Perhaps, no time has ever yet beheld ſo ſingular and unexampled a circumſtance. Favourites have, indeed, in every age, with unexperienced hand, preſumed to guide the veſſel of ſtate, elate with the inſolence of youth, and intoxicated with Royal favour. Their temerity, and their incapacity have uſually, too, carried with them their own puniſhment, and ſoon conducted the pageant to ingominy, and frequently to death. But in a nation, and in a government regulated as this is, where favouritiſm is either unknown, or, at leaſt reſtricted within narrower limits than in more deſpotic countries, the road to political elevation is widely different. The beams of Royal favour, though they may

may gild and illuminate, yet do not diſpenſe in this temperate region, that foſtering warmth which can ſupply every inherent deficiency, and impart every endowment requiſite for the government of mankind. Genius and talents, however ſublime and capacious, ſuſtained by induſtry, and fortified by application, can alone conduct to, and ſuſtain in ſo giddy an eminence. In addition to theſe requiſites, Mr Pitt was aided by the luſtre of hereditary fame, and of his father's ſervices. Above all, he was indebted to a peculiar combination of circumſtances, which, perhaps more than all his virtues or endowments, elevated him to the premature poſſeſſion of the higheſt employment of the State. It muſt, however, be confeſſed even by his enemies, that he has not been found unworthy of ſo rapid and extraordinary a promotion to the ſum-

mit of power; and that he has betrayed little, if any of the fire and promptitude on one hand, or of the intemperance and inexperience on the other, uſually characteriſtic of youth.

Awkward and ungraceful in his perſon, cold and diſtant in his manners, reſerved and ſometimes ſtately in his deportment; Mr Pitt is not formed to captivate mankind by the graces of external figure or addreſs. Diſtinguiſhed by no uncommon ſenſibility to the attractions of women, it is not from that ſex he can expect the enthuſiaſtic ſupport, and more than maſculine exertions, which his great political antagoniſt has repeatedly experienced on the moſt trying occaſions. Little attached to amuſement or diſſipation, whatever form it may aſſume; and even, when he unbends to convivial feſtivity or relaxation,

laxation, confined and private in its indulgence; his hours are dedicated to an almoſt unremitted applicatioa to the functions of his office. Parſimonious of the public revenue, and tenacious of the exhauſted finances of a Treaſury drained by preceding profuſion, his conduct, as Miniſter, forms a ſtriking contraſt to the facility and prodigality of former adminiſtrations. Diſintereſted in his diſtribution of offices, and ſelect in his choice of thoſe on whom he confers employments, the nation has not regarded his abilities with more admiration, than it has conferred applauſe and veneration on his principles. Endowed with talents unexempled for ſwaying a popular aſſembly: Perſpicuous and clear amidſt all the energy and fire of oratory: Ample, yet not prolix or diffuſe: Exempt from repetition, yet leaving no part of his ſubject untouched,

touched, or unexplained. Animated in debate, though cold and fevere in converſation; copious in his diction, and felect in every figure or expreſſion with which he chuſes to enrich or adorn his ſpeech: Addreſſing himſelf as much to the judgement, as to the imagination; and gaining, by the mingled force of language and of conviction, a ready entrance to the heart. Such is the preſent Miniſter of the Engliſh people, and ſuch is the impartial portrait of his virtues, and his defects!

Perhaps, a leſs rigid and unbending character; perhaps a leſs ſparing and oeconomical ſuperintendance in ſome circumſtances, of the public treaſure, however meritorious in itſelf; perhaps a greater degree of attention to the individuals, upon whom reſts the foundation of his own greatneſs; and a portion of that venality, (however the term

term may ſtartle and affright) which in this democratical government, as in that of Rome, is unfortunately too neceſſary to enable a great and good Miniſter to retain a ſtation of public utility——Perhaps, I ſay, a mixture of theſe ingredients, like poiſon in phyſic, might produce the moſt ſalutary and beneficial effects. We are not in the age of the Scipios, or even, I fear, of Cato. The Roman empire was not worthy of a Pertinax, though it ſubmitted to a Severus, and the Praetorian guards, accuſtomed to ſell the Imperial dignity, knew no longer how to confer it as a voluntary donation on ſuperior virtue. The Miniſter, who will maintain his ſituation in this country, muſt condeſcend, however reluctantly, to adopt the arts of Government; arts become indiſpenſible; and

and alike practiſed by a Clarendon, or an Oxford, by Walpole, and by North.

When I have thus finiſhed the portrait of the Miniſter, I may be ſaid in it to have comprehended almoſt the whole adminiſtration. Mr Pitt, " with Atlantean ſhoulders," ſupports the incumbent weight of the monarchy, and ſtands, like Ajax, ſingle and alone, amidſt hoſts *of* ſurrounding enemies. One, and one only friend, appears, decorated with the inſignia of legal dignity, to oppoſe, in another Houſe, the attacks of Oppoſition. Wherever elſe I look, I ſee only a vaſt vacuity; a vacuity, where no talents, no power of oratory, no ſtrength of intellect, illuminate the darkneſs, or cheer the gloom! The names of a Sydney, and a Carmarthen, can only be tranſmitted to future times, by being involved in the illuſtrious train of Pitt, and muſt

muſt be preſerved from oblivion, by mixing in his radiance. They may "purſue the triumph, and partake the "gale;" but never can mingle in the ſplendor of the renown: too happy if their want of ability ſcreen them from inveſtigation! A Jenkinſon, and a Dundas, may indeed ſupply the defects of the Cabinet, in either Houſe of Parliament: But England was not accuſtomed, in better times, to ſee the foreign intereſts of her crown thus abandoned, and thus neglected, in every Court of Europe, and in every quarter of the globe.

It is not ſufficient for men, who aſſume and undertake to conduct the affairs of nations, that they poſſeſs probity and good intentions. Talents and application muſt mark them out from among the crowd of nobility who ſurround the throne, and entitle

entitle them to occupy the dangerous eminences of ſtate ; nor can any adventitious decorations of rank, or illuſtrious birth, be admitted as a compenſation for this inherent and incurable defect.

Yet, under theſe vices of the Adminiſtration, and incompetent as it muſt perhaps be conſidered to propel the languid wheels of government in many of its moſt eſſential operations ; ſuſtained as it appears to be by the gigantic and ſingle talents of one individual, ſtill in early youth ; dependent not only on his life, but on the life of others, by whoſe demiſe he could no longer be in a ſituation to preſide in the Houſe of Commons, where his loſs, or abſence, would be completely irreparable——Thus precarious, and thus defective as it muſt be allowed, yet its duration appears

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to have no viſible, or even probable limits. It reſts on the two great and ſubſtantial foundations, of the unqueſtionable favour of the Crown, and the equally undiſputed opinions of the people. Perhaps, I might add without ſeverity, that it is propped and ſuſtained by a third circumſtance; the diſinclination of the greater part of the inhabitants of Great Britain, to the component members of the laſt Adminiſtration; and an opinion generally diffuſed (whether true or falſe, I ſhall not ſtop to examine), that there is in that great party more ſplendor of talents, than rectitude of intention, or principles of political virtue.

Having thus wandered thro' the fertile fields of Miniſterial plenty, where alone are to be found the golden apples of the Heſperides, it is time that we turn our eye upon the barren waſte of Oppoſition.

Here chilling poverty appears in all its terrors.

" No ſtreams, as amber ſmooth, as amber clear,
" Are ſeen to flow, or heard to warble here."

Yet, ungrateful and ſterile as the ſoil may ſeem, it is fertilized by one ſpring, the waters of which, tho' they cannot convert what they touch to gold, yet will diſpenſe what gold can never purchaſe—Fame and Immortality. That Spring is the Fountain of Genius, and of the Muſes; the Pierian Spring, which flowed thro' ancient Greece, and cloathed, with unfading verdure, the barren plains and ſavage rocks of Attica. It is that ſacred Fountain, at which Menander, and Horace, and Lucian drank, whoſe inſpiring waters animated their fingers, and ſtrung their lyres.

Witneſs

Witneſs thoſe two beautiful and unequalled compoſitions, in which ſatire has exhauſted her keeneſt ſhafts; in which the moſt claſſical purity is blended with modern urbanity; where humour ſits enſhrined on a throne, in the conſtruction of which genius has laviſhly employed her choiceſt materials; and which ſhall preſerve, to diſtant times, the names of a Mawbey, or a Turner, ſacred to immortal ridicule!—I need not ſay that I *can* only mean the "Rolliad," and the "Probationary Odes." It is, however, to be lamented, that future ages will not be able to taſte and to comprehend many of the moſt delicate and pointed alluſions, from the circumſtances of perſonality which accompany them, and which time will ſoon involve in obſcurity and darkneſs. Whether regarded as productions of proſe, or of poetry, they ſtand alone and unrivalled: ſuperior,

ſuperior, perhaps, to the "Dunciad," itſelf in energy, and not inferior in harmony of numbers; abounding with all the Attic ſalt ſo delicate to the taſte in Horace; ſevere and manly as the fineſt ſatires of Juvenal.

While, however, I yield this involuntary teſtimony to the matchleſs talents which produced the "Rolliad," and the "Probationary Odes," I muſt, with equal impartiality, cenſure and condemn that daring and licentious ſpirit, which pervades them thro' every page; and which, after having demoliſhed all the intermediate barriers, has laid its ſacrilegious hand upon the Throne. There it ſhould have ſtopped its rage, and laid its impoiſoned arrows at the foot of Majeſty. Not that I mean to depicture an Engliſh Prince, as exempt from, or ſuperior to the great tribunal of the opinions

nions of his People. He *is* amenable, he *ought* ſo to be, to that laſt and higheſt juriſdiction, eſtabliſhed by Nature in the minds of men. Such may he ever remain!——But, becauſe the *Monarch*, in his public and regal capacity, is accountable to his ſubjects, and an object of their fair diſquiſition—was it generous or magnanimous, to purſue the *man* thro' every walk of private retirement? Is it becoming the honeſt rage, and inherent dignity of ſatire, to hold up a Sovereign—I will not ſay to the ridicule, but to the contumely and deriſion of his own people? To pervade, and drag into open day, all the little perſonalities and weakneſſes, inſeparable from mortality, however elevated its ſtation? To follow him, with unremitted perſecution, from St James's to Windſor, and from Windſor to Kew? With indefatigable and ſubtle induſtry, to depicture him

him in every diſgraceful attitude or poſition, from the crowded levee to the kitchen-garden, or the grocer's ſhop?——It was not thus that Junius, with the arm of genius, laid his ſtrong hand upon the Monarch in an earlier period of his reign. He diſdained to perſecute the *man*, tho' he attacked the *King*. He did not purſue the Imperial fugitive, from the Palatine Hill and the palace of the Cæſars, to his obſcure retreat at Tibur and at Baiæ. He ſtooped not to debaſe, or to tarniſh his immortal labours, by deviating into ungenerous perſonalities; but, having dedicated his pen to public utility, he diſdained to convert it to private pique, or to purpoſes unworthy of its dignity. The Engliſh people, liberal and impartial in their judgments, will never miſtake this important and eſſential difference between the two productions; and tho' they may admit

admit their equal and unrivalled claims to admiration, as works of ſuperior genius, will ever confer the palm of ſuperior merit, where it is ſo juſtly demanded.

But, to return from this digreſſion.

At the head of that great band denominated the "Oppoſition," and compoſed of ſo motely materials, as no longer to be reducible to any fixed colour or form, appears Mr Fox; and, near him, co-ordinate, but not co-equal, his once great antagoniſt, tho' now his friend and fellow-labourer, Lord North. It would be mockery to regard the Duke of Portland, however reſpectable and excellent in his private character, as other than the pageant of a party, round whom the chieftains aſſemble:——The Lord Rockingham of 1787; and diſtinguiſhed by nearly ſimilar endowments of heart and of underſtanding,

with

with that departed Marquis. If I place Mr Fox foremoſt in this liſt, it is, that, though inferior in nominal rank to Lord North, he is far ſuperior to him in all thoſe qualities, which demand, or which acquire, dominion over the minds of men.

Not more liberally endowed by Nature with the graces of external figure, or with the elegance of manner and addreſs, than his rival Mr Pitt, he has yet an unknown and undeſcribable ſomething, which pervades the darkneſs of his complection, and ſheds a ſort of luſtre acroſs his Saturnine features. Whether it can be termed a ſmile, I will not venture to aſſert; but it certainly has the effect upon the heart, which ſmiles are calculated to produce; that of inſpiring confidence, and exciting complacency. Deſcended from a monarch, diſtinguiſhed by this peculiar and characteriſtic

teriſtic excellence of face, he may perhaps claim an hereditary title to it. Son to a nobleman, as much marked out by public obloquy and accuſation, whether juſtly or unjuſtly acquired, as Lord Chatham was by general favour and admiration, he cannot look for protection to paternal virtues, or plead the patriotiſm and diſintereſtedneſs of the Houſe of Holland.

Unequalled in the arts of attaching mankind to his perſon and fortunes; ſteady and fervent in his friendſhips; open and avowed in his enmities; never abandoning thoſe, under any circumſtances, to whom he is bound by political ties, he is deſigned by Nature for the Chief of a party. Educated in the ſchool of political learning, brought into the Senate before he had attained to manhood, and joining a long

experience to the vigour of natural talents; he may be conſidered as conſummate in all that detail of knowledge, only to be acquired by an early initiation into the myſteries of a democratical government. Poſſeſſing powers of eloquence, leſs copious and brilliant, but perhaps more ſolid and logical than thoſe of Mr Pitt, he is equally formed to captivate, to convince, and to ſubdue. Skilled either to entrench himſelf in almoſt impregnable faſtneſſes; or to carry the thunders of the war into the lines of the enemy, he can with the ſame facility imitate Scipio, or Fabius: He can adopt the Conſular dignity, or the Tribunitian rage. Abandoned, in the more early ſtages of his life, to the frenzy of play, and to all the diſſipations of youth and unlimited profuſion; a portion of thoſe defects and errors accompanies his riper years, and ſullies the luſtre

of

of his endowments. So far from being like his more fortunate rival, indifferent to the company, or ſuperior to the blandiſhments of women, Mr Fox does not bluſh to appear with the companion of his ſofter hours, in a phaeton in Hyde Park, or in the firſt rows of a crowded theatre. Convivial in his nature, and open to ſocial pleaſures, he confirms his political triumph over the mind, by his private and perſonal conqueſt of the heart. Bold and decided even to temerity in his conduct as a Miniſter, he is capable by turns, of aggrandizing, or of diminiſhing the power of the Crown; and of juſtifying by reaſons and arguments the moſt plauſible, the meaſure, of whatever nature, which he ſhall have ſeen fit to adopt.—Generous and beneficent in his diſpoſition, placable and forgiving in his temper, his political enmities extend not beyond the limits

limits of a debate, or the walls of a Houſe of Commons. Equal to his antagoniſt, in all the ſublime talents requiſite for the government of an empire; ſuperior to him in modern and polite knowledge; in an acquaintance with Europe, its manners, its courts, and its languages; he is his inferior only in one requiſite; an opinion of his public principle, generally diffuſed among the people. When to this great and inherent defect, is ſuperadded the unqueſtionable alienation of his Sovereign, both to his perſon and his party; we may lament, but we cannot be ſurpriſed, that abilities ſo univerſal and ſublime are left unemployed, and are permitted "to waſte their ſweetneſs on the deſert air."

From this illuſtrious and ſhining character, by an obvious and natural tranſition,

tion, we paſs to Lord North; a nobleman, once high in the confidence of his Sovereign, and poſſeſſed of more than miniſterial power for a term of near twelve years; now a monument of departed greatneſs,

" Fallen, fallen, fallen, fallen,
" Fallen, from his high eſtate!"

and compelled to take ſhelter from oblivion and inſignificance, under the protecting ſhield of that party, who purſued him with unrelenting violence, and hunted him at laſt into the toils!——Having raiſed the banner of revolt againſt the very Prince, whom he had ſo long ſerved, and from whoſe bounty he had derived ſo many advantages, it is not to that drawing room, of which he was once the ornament, that he can ever again look for an

aſylum.

aſylum. Employment, it is indeed poſſible, that he may obtain; but confidence muſt be for ever extinct. Endowed with almoſt all the attainments, or abilities, which can enliven ſociety, or diffuſe mirth and feſtivity through private life; formed to charm his friends, and to diſarm even his enemies, by powers of humour and ridicule unequalled, he was deficient in all the ſterner virtues and qualities of a Miniſter and a Stateſman. Vigour, energy, coercion, principle—theſe were unhappily wanting; and their defect entailed on this unfortunate country, a war, in which her glory was loſt, her dominions and provinces torn from her on every ſide, and her public credit exhauſted, undermined, and ſhaken to its foundation. But, let me reſpect the aſhes of the politically dead, and tread lightly over them! Perſonally and individually amiable, tho' an object of

public

public cenſure, his private virtues yet extend ſome protection to his unſheltered head, and claim, even amid the wreck of an empire, our eſteem and our affection.

I ſhall content myſelf with characterizing the genius of Oppoſition, and marking its outline, without deſcending to a delineation of its leſs prominent features.—The eccentric, and ill regulated imagination of a Burke, unreſtrained in its wild exceſſes by temper and judgment, is not calculated to add ſtrength to that party, however it may frequently dazzle by its illuſive brilliancy. But, I ſhould indeed be deficient, if I did not pay the tribute of one line, to ſo rare and ſo matchleſs a combination of talents, as meet in a Sheridan. There, a temperate and a winning elocution, ſuſtained by claſſic elegance, adorned with dramatic and poetic images and alluſions,

pointed

pointed with the keeneſt irony, and riſing, when neceſſary, into the nobleſt animation, conſpire to render him one of the moſt conſpicuous leaders of Parliamentary debate.

The year 1786 has been diſtinguiſhed by one great and extraordinary event, the effects of which muſt, in all probability, extend far beyond the reigns of George the Third, or Louis the Sixteenth, and will be felt to diſtant times. The " Commer- " cial Treaty," recently ſigned and interchanged, is a vaſt gulph of political and commercial ſpeculation, where the keeneſt and moſt pervaſive ſight cannot penetrate the darkneſs. Pregnant with unknown and unaſcertained benefits, or injuries, to this country; and producing, in one great act, a complete revolution in the ſyſtem of policy, adopted by England during ſeveral ages,

ages, it can only at preſent be conſidered as an experiment, to which time muſt affix the ſeal of approbation or condemnation. Too complicated and intricate in its nature, too comprehenſive and vaſt in its operation, for any judgment to embrace, without the imputation of temerity, its principle, at leaſt, appears in ſo "queſtionable a ſhape," that it cannot, on a firſt view, be regarded with other ſentiments than thoſe of predilection.————To extinguiſh, or to diminiſh thoſe illiberal prejudices, and thoſe immortal wars, which, from the reign of Edward the Third, have devaſted the two Monarchies, and alternately convulſed them: To ſubſtitute the mild interchange of commercial advantages, and reciprocal benefits: To open new and untried channels for activity, enterprize, and induſtry. Theſe objects,

if they can be attained, will do equal honour to the genius of the Miniſter who planned, and to the ſpirit of the age which adopted them. Whether they *are* ſo obtained, or not, I am not ſo preſumptuous as to pretend to determine. But, when I ſee the public prints teeming with invective againſt the preſent treaty, becauſe it bears ſo intimate a reſemblance to the treaty of commerce ſigned in 1713, and which was rejected in the ſubſequent triumph of a rival faction, I cannot help commiſerating the ignorance and credulity of a people, who can be made the dupes of ſo wretched an impoſition. If there be any apology for the defection of that miniſtry from the great alliance, which, under Queen Anne, had ſo nearly brought Lewis the Fourteenth to the laſt ſtage of deſtruction: If the names of Oxford and of Bolingbroke can have any claim to be pronounced, without reſentment and indignation,

dignation, as the authors of the peace of Utrecht; it is from the degree of merit which they can claim with the Engliſh people, for having fabricated and obtained the Commercial Treaty. It was the compenſation given by the Court of Verſailles for our political honour, and national faith, ſacrificed to France: It was a bribe, baſely accepted by England, for the deſtruction of Holland, and the Houſe of Auſtria, who were abandoned to their evil deſtiny, and to the chaſtiſement of Villars. I call upon the names and writings of Torcy, and of Deſmarets, who were then at the head of the councils and finances of the French Monarchy, for the juſtice of my aſſertion? Whether Vergennes may not adopt a ſimilar line of policy; whether that able and artful court may not find their intereſt in extending to us ſuch unqueſtionable advantages of trade, as will

induce

induce us to overlook higher and nobler objects of national conſideration, may be matter for inquiry, or for caution. " Ti-" meo Danaos, et dona ferentes." But, that a fair equality of apparent commercial benefit is meant to be allowed us, I think, will ſcarcely admit of any reaſonable doubt.

The year 1786 has likewiſe been diſtinguiſhed by the death of one of the moſt illuſtrious and extraordinary perſonages, who has appeared on earth in modern ages. A Prince, like Caeſar, " graced " with both Minervas ;" like him, " alone and ſuperior," not in rank and dignity, but in ſplendour of talents, and in every ſublime endowment of the human mind. I need not ſay that I mean the late King of Pruſſia, who expired, after a reign, immortalized by the moſt incredible

exertions

exertions of genius and vigour, during ſix and forty years; and the energy of whoſe abilities could only be eclipſed and extinguiſhed, by the ſeparation of his mind and body. Future times, who ſhall look back through the medium of years upon his character and reign, will require all the teſtimony of concurring hiſtorical evidence to compel their reluctant belief of the unexempled diſplay of military proweſs, and civil endowments, which he exerted, to extricate his dominions from the vaſt combination, by which they were ſurrounded. Perhaps, impartial poſterity will even admit much, which may palliate, though not altogether exculpate, his ſeverities and acts of violence, committed, during the great war of 1756, in Saxony and Bohemia. Exceſſes, which were unqueſtionably more the reſult of ſituation, than of ſentiment; more produced by neceſſity,

neceſſity, than ariſing from character! They will recollect, that, while he ſet fire to the ſuburbs of Dreſden, and carried off the Saxon youth of both ſexes with the ſavage ferocity of a Genſeric, or an Attila, never more to reviſit their paternal ſeats; he was yet, where the fatal neceſſities of war allowed him to conſult the elegance of his genius, or the clemency of his nature, the patron of arts, and the protector of his vanquiſhed enemies. The ſame monarch who drove Auguſtus the Third from his hereditary dominions, and compelled him to take refuge among his Poliſh ſubjects; yet, when maſter of the palace and capital of his rival, was ſo far from exerciſing the rights of conqueſt there, that he only modeſtly beſought permiſſion of the Queen of Poland, to place his chair oppoſite the "Notte" of Corregio, in order to admire

mire its beauties. Magnanimous and exalted in his feelings, he was raiſed above his ſubjects, more by dignity of talents, than of ſituation. Clement and forgiving, even where the injuries offered to him were of the moſt wounding and perſonal nature, he never condeſcended to puniſh or reſent them. Pervading with eager and active eye, every department of the State; uniting unparallelled corporal activity, to equal energy of intellect, he extended his protection, or his puniſhment, to every claſs of his ſubjects. Averſe to the effuſion of human blood, no ſcaffolds ſtreamed in Berlin, during a reign of near half a century. Terrible to his enemies in peace, from the recollection of his exploits in war: Courted and admired throughout Europe, by its Princes, who contended for his friendſhip: Revered by his ſubjects, and idolized by his ſoldiery,

the

the companions of his victories; he at length ſunk under the common lot of mortality, from which all his talents could not exempt him; leaving behind him a name, which muſt endure, and augment in celebrity, as long as man poſſeſſes a capacity of perpetuating, or tranſmitting any teſtimony of his own exiſtence. A new Prince has aſcended the Pruſſian throne, educated in the great ſchool of his predeceſſor; and towards whom it is natural, peculiarly in the preſent critical ſituation of Holland, for all Europe to turn their attentive eyes, at the opening of his reign. I ſhall not, however, purſue any further the ſubject of German tranſactions, or continental politics. The ſhort remainder of theſe papers will be directed to more domeſtic objects.

Two

Two ſingular and intereſting ſcenes occupy the principal part of the canvas, and arreſt the attention. Scenes which, in all ages, ſeem to have been acted, and by which Athens and Rome were ſucceſſively diſgraced! Scenes which recall to every claſſic mind the injured names of Themiſtocles and of Phocion, of Scipio and of Camillus!

If there be a man, to whom this grateful country ſhould erect public ſtatues, and whom ſhe ſhould enroll among her tutelary deities, it is unqueſtionably to Lord Rodney that ſuch honours are due. It is to him that we are indebted for one proud day, unequalled in the Britiſh hiſtory; the only, or almoſt only compenſation for years of diſgrace, of profuſion, and of ignominy. It was with reſentment and indignation, that this country beheld that

illuſtrious perſon, recalled in the moment of his victory; that ſhe ſaw another Ormond ſucceed another Marlborough; and that ſhe was witneſs to a reluctant and *inferior* title being conferred on her hero and her deliverer, in the ſame year,——nay, *almoſt* in the ſame little month, in which two naval characters, not quite ſo deſervedly dear to their country, were raiſed to *ſuperior* dignities. Poſterity will demand with natural aſtoniſhment, under what miniſter, ſo flagrant an act of national injuſtice and ingratitude was committed. They will hardly believe, that ſcarce ſixty days elapſed between the elevation of Lord Howe and Lord Keppel, to the rank of Viſcounts, and that of Lord Rodney to the rank of a Baron.—But, in what colours of honeſt indignation am I to depicture the more inhuman treatment, which that illuſtrious perſon actually

actually ſuffers? So far from returning to repoſe, in the evening of his life, under the ſhade of thoſe laurels, which no political lightning can ever wither; inſtead of meeting that affluent retirement, ſo juſtly merited by his ſucceſsful labours; what is his preſent ſituation? Perſecuted by legal accuſations: Compelled to hold up his hand as a criminal, at the bar of that country, which he has ſaved and extricated. Purſued by individuals, who were leagued with America in the moſt flagitious of all connections, for the ruin of England. Deprived, by the removal of thoſe very papers from the office of a Secretary of State, which he ſent home with every precaution, in order to ſecure their ſafety, and which are indiſpenſibly neceſſary to juſtify his own conduct, and to puniſh his proſecutors. Finally condemned by a deciſion of the Privy Council;

Council ; the inevitable conſequences of which ſentence not only involve the deſtruction of his fortune, but extend their pernicious influence to the fleet and army at large, and to every commander employed to fight her battles. This is a melancholy, but a too faithful picture of the actual ſituation of the man, to whoſe high merits and ſervices rendered his country, a garter and a dukedom are far unequal !——But, will the people of England look tamely on, and ſee their Beliſarius extend his laurelled hand, and aſk for bread ? Are we thus fallen ? Are we more vile and debaſed, than were the Roman people under Juſtinian ? Shall Europe be ſpectatreſs of ſo diſgraceful a proceeding ? Shall we drive our guardian and our protector again to ſeek an aſylum in the capital of that enemy, whom he vanquiſhed and ſubdued ? And ſhall he receive from the generoſity

generoſity of the Court of Verſailles, what he has been denied by the ingratitude of England? Forbid it Glory! Forbid it Shame! Forbid it Manhood!—Will not the legiſlature itſelf interpoſe between him and poverty, and by the ſame act redeem Lord Rodney from diſtreſs, and his country from diſgrace? Or, are we to ſee the law, with harpy talon, lay its fierce gripe on the property of the ſaviour of the empire? Is his age to be embittered by ſuits, and attachments, and all the nameleſs engines of judicial torture? If this is to be the concluding ſcene of ſo illuſtrious a life, we may indeed exclaim

——— " O Gloria! vincitur idem!
" Nempe, et in exſilium praeceps fugit, atque ibi magnus
" Miranduſque cliens ſedet ad praetoria Regis,
" Donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno.
" Finem animae, quae res humanas miſcuit olim,
" Non gladii, non ſaxa dabunt, nec tela; ſed ille
" Cannarum vindex, ac tanti ſanguinis ultor."———

—the

—the cruel and unjuſt deciſions of an Engliſh judicature.

Humiliating and diſgraceful as is the picture which I have drawn, it is not the only one of a ſimilar kind, which England preſents at the preſent juncture.—Kord Rodney is not the ſingle victim of 1786! Another very diſtinguiſhed and very illuſtrious perſon has been ſelected by party violence, for its moſt inveterate attacks; I mean, Mr Haſtings. If his ſervices have been leſs brilliant and glorious than thoſe of Lord Rodney, they have yet been attended with the moſt ſolid and beneficial conſequences. While the one extricated our affairs in the Weſtern World from an abyſs of ruin which approached to total extinction; the other ſuſtained the honour of the Engliſh

Engliſh name and arms, over all Aſia and the Eaſt. It was indeed in India, and in India only, that we may be ſaid to have made any conqueſts during the late war, while flight, and diſgrace, and retreat, accompanied our operations in every other quarter of the Globe. " Proſperæ " in Oriente, adverſæ in Occidente Res." Amidſt this ſcene of confuſion and anarchy, Mr Haſtings, from the boundleſs reſources of his own mind, ſucceſsfully oppoſed within the limits of his juriſdiction the efforts of domeſtic faction, of interior rebellion, and of external hoſtility. While with one hand he ſubjected Cheit Sing, and repelled the Mharattas; with the other, he extended aſſiſtance to Madras, and marched an army to the oppoſite coaſt of Malabar; a march, in compariſon of which, the boaſted retreat of the ten thouſand under Xenophon cannot be produced in competition!

competition! To his celerity and deciſion we unqueſtionably owe the preſervation of all the Engliſh dominions on the coaſt of Coromandel, at that diſaſtrous period, when Hyder Ally had ſpread terror and conſternation to the gates of Madras, and threatened the extermination of the name and exiſtence of England throughout the Carnatic.

And are theſe the ſervices for which Mr Haſtings is accuſed and impeached? Did ſuch important and ſalutary exertions merit ſo hard a return? Did Mr Pitt, tho' conſcious of, and bearing his own teſtimony to them, yet abandon and forſake him, becauſe a degree of error, or even of miſconduct and ſeverity might mark *one* meaſure of his government? Is the oppreſſion, even admitting it to be ſuch, exerciſed againſt Cheit Sing, preceded and accompanied as

it

it was by the circumſtances of that Prince's revolt; to be admitted as a ſufficient reaſon for delivering up Mr Haſtings to the inſults of his enemies? Does a ſingle inſtance of mal-adminiſtration cancel a life of public labour and diſtinguiſhed merit? If this is to be the principle, on which every man in dangerous and elevated ſituations of public truſt, is ultimately to be acquitted or condemned; if we require of him that he

" In one meridian brightneſs ſhine,
" Nor e'er, like evening ſuns, decline,"

We are, I fear, henceforward to expect none of thoſe bold and deciſive meaſures, which in certain circumſtances are the only means left to ſave a ſinking ſtate: but which, as they of neceſſity ſuppoſe and involve a great degree of perſonal reſponſi-

bility, and frequently of obloquy, will not be adopted, from an apprehenſion of eventual proſecution and impeachment. In the conduct of Mr Pitt, and in his vote upon that memorable tranſaction, I can neither trace the liberality and expanſion of a ſuperior mind, nor the conſiſtency and ſound policy of an able Miniſter. The exultation and triumph with which his enemies beheld the error that he had committed: The concern and condemnation which many of his friends expreſſed and affixed to his conduct: The aſtoniſhment and incredulity, with which the intelligence of it was received at Verſailles—all theſe opinions concur to evince, that the meaſure was as injudicious in its nature, as I believe it will be found pernicious in its effects. The general merit of Mr Haſtings's Adminiſtration, however particular features of it may be liable to the imputation of error,

error, is felt deeply in the Court of France, although it be diſputed here. Whether the articles of accuſation preferred againſt him will be reſumed in the approaching ſeſſion, or on what principles they are to be proſecuted, I know not; but I will venture to aſſert, that Mr Pitt's line of conduct, by which he ſeems to abandon Mr Haſtings's *character* to impeachment, while he affects to ſcreen his *perſon* from the effects of parliamentary proſecution or condemnation, is, of all meaſures, that which will diſguſt every party, and meet with general diſapprobation. If Mr Haſtings, on the impartial ſurvey of his whole adminiſtration as Governor-General of India, is thought to deſerve puniſhment, let it be exemplary! If his ſervices are found greatly to outweigh his defects, and to have manifeſtly preſerved and ſuſtained the empire, let him receive that generous and grateful protec-

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tion from the State, which he extended to it in the moſt perilous circumſtances. But, "out upon this half-faced fellowſhip!" Mr Haſtings has, however, one appeal from the candid virulence of Mr Burke, and from the inconſiſtent rectitude of Mr Pitt. There is ſtill a tribunal in this country ſuperior to, and independent of a vote of the Commons, or a ſentence of the Lords. It is the tribunal of the people of England, and of public opinion; that ultimate and awful juriſdiction, to which Junius appealed, and which gave more than one ſalutary leſſon to Miniſters and to Parliaments, in the commencement of the preſent reign; when perſecution, armed with all the powers of the Legiſlature, vainly attempted to oppreſs a ſingle individual! Before that tribunal Mr Haſtings will appear, and they will finally determine whether he is an object of the condemnation,

nation, or of the protection and gratitude of his country.

The retreat, either actual or imminent, of Lord Mansfield, from a ſituation which he has held with ſo much dignity to himſelf, and ſo much public benefit to his country, for the period of thirty years, forms not only an epocha in the annals of the juriſprudence of England; but ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence, in the enumeration of thoſe leading facts and events, which characterize the cloſe of 1786. This great and ſuperior perſon, the rare endowments of whoſe mind have ſo long and ſo deſervedly ſuſtained him in the ſeat of the chief criminal juſtice of England, has ſeen his popularity ſurvive even the rude attacks of Junius, and bloom anew in the evening of his life. It is rather to be wiſhed, I fear, than to be expected, that

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his ſucceſſor in that high and important ſituation, will leave no room to regret the ſeceſſion of Lord Mansfield, and the loſs of thoſe ſublime talents by which he has been ever diſtinguiſhed.

Here I ſhall ſtop, nor attempt to delineate all the inferior features which characterize the preſent aera. My intention has been to preſent, and to convey a general reſemblance, without ſhading the minute parts of the picture. How far the portrait will be found faithful to Nature, I muſt leave to thoſe who ſhall ſurvey it. It is, at leaſt, defaced by no party miſrepreſentations, and obſcured by no private prejudices. Above the vileneſs of writing for any faction, or adopting from intereſt, any opinions: Having little to hope, and leſs to apprehend, from any miniſter, I have written what I felt, on every

every ſubject. Even on matters the moſt perſonal, I have been biaſſed by no ſiniſter views or motives. " Mihi Galba, Otho, " Vitellius, nec beneficio, nec injuria " cogniti." I am neither to be found on the terrace at Windſor, nor at the ſuppers of Carleton Houſe: I have neither bowed to the Meridian, nor to the Riſing Sun: I have neither flattered the miniſter, where I conceive that he is an object of cenſure; nor juſtified the Oppoſition in thoſe acts where I believe them to have merited condemnation. Perhaps, at a time like the preſent, this impartiality may be found to have few recommendations, in a country, and a capital where party pervades every claſs and deſcription of mankind. But, if theſe ſheets, by any fortuitous and improbable accident, ſhall float upon the ſurface of that political ſtream, which rolls down the events of the

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reign of George the Third: If, by ſome unmerited preſervation, they ſhould eſcape the deſtiny of a vulgar pamphlet, futurity will appretiate that impartiality, and regard it with more favourable eyes. Could I go farther, and indulge the abſurd ſuppoſition, that my own contemporaries, the inhabitants of this country and capital, ſhould receive with favour the preſent production, it may induce and incite me, in ſome moment of leiſure, to reſume my pen, and to attempt to complete that picture, of which I have here only traced the outline.

FINIS.